

of its highest priorities, in the case of the CBC Minority AIDS Initiative, the Department has decided that Faith Based Organizations can no longer be targeted for funding.

I support the Democratic Substitute and urge my colleagues to do the same. This better bill would prohibit employment discrimination and the setting aside of state and local civil right laws and delete the sweeping new language in the bill which would permit federal agencies to convert more than \$47 billion in current government programs into private vouchers.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, faith-based organizations play a vital role in our communities and work tirelessly towards effectively meeting the needs of our communities. These organizations cover all religions and range from family counseling, to community development, to homeless and battered woman's shelters, to drug-treatment and rehabilitation programs and to saving our "at-risk" children. In many cases, they are the only organizations that have taken the initiative to provide a much needed community service.

In principle, I support what H.R. 7, the Community Solutions Act seeks to accomplish. However, during exhaustive conversations with my constituents, and a variety of organizations, we must address the following issues before the bill is viable and fair:

H.R. 7 gives the executive branch broad discretion to fundamentally change the structure of a plethora of federal social service programs totaling some 47 billion dollars through the use of vouchers. This voucher program allows any Cabinet Secretary to convert any of the covered programs currently funded through grants or direct funding to a voucher program, without Congressional approval. The risk of these voucher programs is that once a program becomes a voucher program, the funds become indirect funds, which could require participants in voucher funded programs to engage in worship or to conform to the religious beliefs of the religious organizations providing the service.

H.R. 7, would permit a variety of organizations, including for-profit entities, to receive program vouchers. Our concern is that this could jeopardize the financial stability of non-profit agencies by replacing the more reliable grant and contracts funding they currently receive with unpredictable voucher funding.

Mr. speaker, Charitable Choice fails to protect the beneficiaries of funded programs from proselytization, in that H.R. 7 fails to include meaningful safeguards for the beneficiaries while they are participants in publicly funded programs. H.R. 7, places the burden of objecting to the religious nature of the program up to the client, after he or she has sought assistance. Only after the injury suffered through unwanted proselytizing, that the government is required to provide an alternative program. We should fund secular alternatives in advance, not when a lawsuit is brought challenging the religious nature of the program.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 7, mandates that those faith based entities utilizing federal funds are to be held to the federal civil rights standard that allows religious organizations to discriminate against those on the basis of religion. In many cases state law provides additional civil rights protections regarding sexual orientation, physical and mental disabilities, genetics, and a host of other protections. To allow federal law to supersede state law on this important

issue, not only creates the potential for constitutional states rights challenges, but does nothing to advance civil rights protections in our nation.

While no one can dispute the great work and the important services that faith-based organizations provide to our communities, the issues that I set forth and those raised by my colleagues must be addressed before this bill is fair, balanced and provides the necessary safeguards for all.

Accordingly, I look forward to working with our Conferees in the conference on this bill in order to more clearly address these issues.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, no one familiar with the history of the past century can doubt that private charities, particularly those maintained by persons motivated by their faith to perform charitable acts, are more effective in addressing social needs than federal programs. Therefore, the sponsors of HR 7, the Community Solutions Act, are correct to believe that expanding the role of voluntary, religious-based organizations will benefit society. However, this noble goal will not be accomplished by providing federal taxpayer funds to these organizations. Instead, federal funding will transform these organizations into adjuncts of the federal government and reduce voluntary giving on the part of the people. In so doing, HR 7 will transform the majority of private charities into carbon copies of failed federal welfare programs.

Providing federal funds to religious organizations gives the organizations an incentive to make obedience to federal bureaucrats their number-one priority. Religious entities may even change the religious character of their programs in order to please their new federal paymaster. Faith-based organizations may find federal funding diminishes their private support as people who currently voluntarily support religious organizations assume they "gave at the (tax) office" and will thus reduce their levels of private giving. Thus, religious organizations will become increasingly dependent on federal funds for support. Since "he who pays the piper calls the tune" federal bureaucrats and Congress will then control the content of "faith-based" programs.

Those who dismiss these concerns should consider that HR 7 explicitly forbids proselytizing in "faith-based" programs receiving funds directly from the federal government. Religious organizations will not have to remove religious income from their premises in order to receive federal funds. However, I fail to see the point in allowing a Catholic soup kitchen to hang a crucifix on its wall or a Jewish day care center to hang a Star of David on its door if federal law forbids believers from explaining the meaning of those symbols to persons receiving assistance. Furthermore, proselytizing is what is at the very heart of the effectiveness of many of these programs!

H.R. 7 also imposes new paperwork and audit requirements on religious organizations, thus diverting resources away from fulfilling the charitable mission. Supporters of HR 7 point out that any organization that finds the conditions imposed by the federal government too onerous does not have to accept federal grants. It is true no charity has to accept federal grants. It is true no charity has to accept federal funds, but a significant number will accept federal funds in exchange for federal restrictions on their programs, especially since the restrictions will appear "reasonable" during

the program's first few years. Of course, history shows that Congress and the federal bureaucracy cannot resist imposing new mandates on recipients of federal money. For example, since the passage of the Higher Education Act the federal government has gradually assumed control over almost every aspect of campus life.

Just as bad money drives out good, government-funded charities will overshadow government charities that remain independent of federal funding. After all, a federally-funded charity has the government's stamp of approval and also does not have to devote resources to appealing to the consciences of parishioners for donations. Instead, government-funded charities can rely on forced contributions from the taxpayers. Those who dismiss this as unlikely to occur should remember that there are only three institutions of higher education today that do not accept federal funds and thus do not have to obey federal regulations.

We have seen how federal funding corrupts charity in our time. Since the Great Society, many organizations which once were devoted to helping the poor have instead become lobbyists for ever-expanding government, since a bigger welfare state means more power for their organizations. Furthermore, many charitable organizations have devoted resources to partisan politics as part of coalitions dedicated to expanding federal control over the American people.

Federally-funded social welfare organizations are inevitably less effective than their counterparts because federal funding changes the incentives of participants in these organizations. Voluntary charities promote self-reliance, while government welfare programs foster dependency. In fact, it is in the self-interests of the bureaucrats and politicians who control the welfare state to encourage dependency. After all, when a private organization moves a person off welfare, the organization has fulfilled its mission and proved its worth to donors. In contrast, when people leave government welfare programs, they have deprived federal bureaucrats of power and of a justification for a larger amount of taxpayer funding.

Accepting federal funds will corrupt religious institutions in a fundamental manner. Religious institutions provide charity services because they are commanded to by their faith. However, when religious organizations accept federal funding promoting the faith may take a back seat to fulfilling the secular goals of politicians and bureaucrats.

Some supporters of this measure have attempted to invoke the legacy of the founding fathers in support of this legislation. Of course, the founders recognized the importance of religion in a free society, but not as an adjunct of the state. Instead, the founders hoped a religious people would resist any attempts by the state to encroach on the proper social authority of the church. The Founding Fathers would have been horrified by any proposal to put churches on the federal dole, as this threatens liberty by subordinating churches to the state.

Obviously, making religious institutions dependent on federal funds (and subject to federal regulations) violates the spirit, if not the letter, of the first amendment. Critics of this legislation are also correct to point out that this bill violates the first amendment by forcing taxpayers to subsidize religious organizations whose principles they do not believe. However, many of these critics are inconsistent in